THE CRISIS

A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

PUBLISHED MONTHLY AND COPYRIGHTED BY THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE AT 69 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y., CONDUCTED BY W. E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS; JESSIE REDMON FAUSET, LITERARY EDITOR; AUGUSTUS GRANVILLE DILL, BUSINESS MANAGER.

Vol. 27 No. 5 **MARCH, 1924** **Whole No. 161**

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The April CRISIS will include an account of the life and work of the famous artist, Henry Ossawa Tanner, and "Social Work in Race Relations", by E. Franklin Frazier, Director of the Department of Sociology, Morehouse College. Future issues will bring us "The Young Negro and the New Day", by Willard E. Uphaus, and the second chapter of "The Black Man and the Wounded World" by W. E. B. DuBois.

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THE CRISIS

Vol. 27. No. 5 MARCH, 1924 Whole No. 161

Opinion of W. E. B. Du Bois

TO THE DEAD PRESIDENT

He spoke,
And the foe's power broke;
He sighed,
And pity for pity cried;
He smiled,
And fate was reconciled;
He fled,
And the world's hope seemed dead.

Despots of destiny, captains of revolt,
Crash out their thunderbolt;
But when their thunders cease,
Grant him release
For that one sky-blown moment,
Prince of Peace.

J. E. SPINGARN.

THE STERLING DISCRIMINATION BILL

MRS. KELLY'S article in the October CRISIS and our various editorials have brought considerable attention to the Sterling Discrimination Bill which proposes to educate the white South, while holding the black South in compulsory ignorance. Our efforts, however, have had a curious reaction.

A gentleman who has our highest respect, who has been a friend of the Negro and who is working for this Bill, says:

"I fully appreciate your feelings with regard to the evils of discrimination and I need not assure you that I sympathize with your indignation that such discrimination exists. It is however a matter of regret to me that you feel that the passing of the education bill (formerly known as the Towner-Sterling Bill) would intensify that discrimination. As I see it, even allowing the full force of the contention that in the states now discriminating against Negro children the discrimination would still continue, nevertheless the other advantages, immediately to be realized, would in my opinion offset this objection.

"In the first place, it appears to me that any movement that truly advances the cause of education in this country must react favorably to the Negro problem.

"Secondly, in the majority of states serious discrimination against Negro children does not exist and therefore to promote education in these states is to promote education of all races and classes.

"Again, to bring the educational institutions and activities of the discriminating states into a closer contact with similar institutions and activities of the non-discriminating states is bound to react favorably upon the Southern states, and inject a more humane and American spirit into those institutions. A Department of Education while it would not nationalize education nor would the bill as at present drawn give such a Department or its secretary power to arbitrarily interfere with the educational activities of any state, nevertheless the prestige that would inhere in such a secretaryship and department would exert a most potent in-

fluence upon all states. A big, broad-gauged educator at the head of such a department,—and that is the only kind that we would want,—would be a tremendous power in correcting the injustices now existing.

"Statistics show that education conditions in the Southern states, both among the white and the Negro children, are in an appallingly backward state. They are a disgrace to the Southern states and to the nation at large. There is no doubt that the un-American discrimination is a very important factor in their backwardness. So long as these states function educationally in a narrow sectional provincialism there is little hope for change. The hope for change is in giving them an injection of a broad, humanitarian Americanism, free from the racial prejudices that lie like an incubus upon these states."

With all our respect for the writer of these words, we cannot but feel that this attitude is wrong and dangerous. The same question has arisen in California where a colored pastor, the Rev. Fred A. Hughes

"Brought the matter squarely before the Sacramento Church Federation at its regular noon luncheon and it was made the special order of the day today. Mr. Goethe opened the discussion and read my letter to him. I followed him with facts and figures gathered from the Horizon Department of THE CRISIS as far back as 1917; a very lively discussion was the result and a committee was appointed to call the attention of the Federal Council of Churches to our objections and have them corrected."

Mr. Hughes goes on to note certain things that were said in the discussion:

"Someone said I was cutting off my nose to spite my face in opposing this bill.

"My attention was also called to this '*wonderful*' fact that even though the proportion was unequal that we would be better off in that where we now get one dollar under this bill we would get two and we would be the gainers.

"Again my attention was called to the exodus and that the South was only a small portion of the United States and what was true in the South was not true in the North, East or West, and would we be willing to make the whole nation suffer for the sins of the South?"

II

This brings the matter squarely before us. What is education? It is not simply the formal training of the schools. It is not simply learning to read and write. It is the whole process by which the youth of the nation are inducted into full-grown life; and in the South the larger part of the education which Southern children have received for 300 years is summed up in the phrase, "Serve God and despise Niggers". And despite numerous fine exceptions, souls who by supreme effort have wrested themselves out of the overwhelming stream of public opinion, the effective white South has unfairly and even criminally discriminated against Negroes in industry, in politics, in civic rights, in social reform and particularly in education. They have stolen money from Negroes and spent it upon white people; they have received gifts from the United States Government and spent it illegally to the hurt of the blacks; they have received philanthropy from the white North and the world and deprived colored folk of their decent and honest share; they have decried and lied about the Negroes' institutions of learning; they have throttled their public school system and given black folk no voice in its conduct; they have in numerous cases appointed the worst instead of the best colored teachers; they have publicly, imperti-

nently and continually declared it to be their business to give the Negro only enough education to make him useful to white folk; to make him a servant, a lackey and a fool.

III

Let those who disbelieve read these damning figures from the latest reports of Southern states:

Population 1920 Census

	White	Colored
Tennessee	1,885,993	451,758
Louisiana	1,096,611	700,257
Florida	638,153	329,487
Georgia	1,689,114	1,206,365
South Carolina	818,538	864,719

Value of school property

	White	Colored
Tennessee	$18,245,415	$2,130,619

Spent on schools

Louisiana	$10,167,164	$921,525

Value of school property

Florida	$12,606,113	$941,671
Georgia	23,209,438	2,121,394
South Carolina	8,502,401	1,015,567

Ratio of white to colored

	Population	Value of school property
Tennessee	4 to 1	9 to 1
Louisiana	1.6 to 1	10 to 1
Florida	2 to 1	13 to 1
Georgia	1.4 to 1	11 to 1
South Carolina	0.9 to 1	8 to 1

Average expenditure per pupil

	White	Colored
South Carolina per pupil enrolled	$36.10	$4.17
(1922 report) per average attendance	49.51	5.83
Alabama, rural schools	16.35	4.41
(1921 report) city schools	34.81	12,10
Florida spent on pupils per inhabitant	10.47	1.83
(1920 report) per pupil attending	54.69	13.31
Georgia per pupil attending (1921 report)	33.57	8.87
Louisiana attendance basis	46.15	11.28
(1919-1920 report) enrollment basis	33.71	7.81

Average salaries of teachers

Mississippi Counties (1919-1921 report)

	White	Colored
Coahoma (monthly)	$141.32	$42.00
Calhoun "	60.00	23.00
Issaquena "	42.00	24.00
Monroe "	64.51	24.62
Scott "	72.00	25.00
South Carolina		
Men per year	$1,114.93	$245.27
Women per year	710.31	224.00
County—		
Men per month	77.73	58.05
Women per month	68.05	49.90
Tennessee		
(1921-1922 report) City—		
Men per month	121.06	78.83
Women per month	80.37	55.08
Alabama		
(1921-1922 report)		
Men per year	676.00	246.00
Women per year	621.00	284.00
Louisiana		
(1919-1920 report)		
Men per year	$1,198.98	$360.00
Women per year	793.75	374.37
Florida		
Per capita cost of teachers	5.12	.96
(1920 report) Salaries per month—men	119.80	61.20
Women	81.00	43.20
Georgia		
Salaries per month—men	85.35	43.20
Women	66.80	33.66
(1921 report) high school — men	146.33	73.00
Women	94.60	49.57
General Average for Georgia	95.77	49.60

IV

Facing such facts great and good men come forward and propose that in the centre of a new effort of the United States to educate the South shall be the old slogan "Serve God and despise Niggers". How anyone could think that out of that system can come advantage to the Negro is more than THE CRISIS can understand. You cannot base an effective public school system on deliberate, unfair and unjust discrimination. If that has been proven once it has been proven a dozen times in the South. Only where and insofar as the South has sought to abolish racial discrimination in her schools has there been any real educational advance. And now instead of trying to encourage those men like Joyner, the former State Instructor of Education in North Carolina, and Harris, the present State Superintendent of Education in Louisiana,—instead of seeking to encourage the decency and bitterly difficult work of such men—instead of saying to the South, "The Nation is going to help you get rid of illiteracy but we insist upon one thing, that the money be spent honestly and

without discrimination against the poor and the black,"—instead of doing these obvious things—we turn about and in a mass of extraordinary and contemptible twistings of words, say in effect: "We are going to hand you this money for you to do anything you please with, without any real checks or supervision and without requiring you to do anything more for the education of black children than you are doing today". If this is National Education—God keep us in ignorance.

AN APPOINTMENT

IN response to the many requests for further information concerning the appointment of Dr. Du Bois as Envoy to Liberia, we are publishing the following communication:

Monrovia, Liberia,
December 28, 1923.

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois,
Monrovia.
Sir:

This legation has the honor to inform you that a cablegram has just been received from the Secretary of State, Washington, D. C., giving the information that the President of the United States of America has appointed you as his special representative at the inauguration of the President of Liberia, with the rank of Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States of America.

The full text of this cablegram will be sent you later.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,
(Signed) Solomon Porter Hood, Minister Resident and Consul General.

The text of the cablegram reads:

Calvin Coolidge, President of the United States of America, To His Excellency, Charles D. B. King, President of the Republic of Liberia.

Great and Good Friend:

I have made choice of Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois as my Special Representative, with the rank of Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, on the occasion of your inauguration for another term as President of the Republic of Liberia.

I have entire confidence that he will render himself acceptable to Your Excellency in the distinguished duty with which I have invested him.

I therefore request Your Excellency to receive him favorably and to accept from him the assurance of the high regard and friendship entertained for Your Excellency and the Government and People of Liberia by the Government and People of the United States, and the sincere felicitations which they, and I in their name, tender to Your Excellency on this auspicious occasion.

May God have Your Excellency in His safe and Holy Keeping.

Your Good Friend,
Calvin Coolidge.

By the President, Charles E. Hughes, Secretary of State, Washington, December twenty-six, nineteen hundred and twenty-three.

The appointment of Dr. DuBois carried with it no salary.

MY BELOVED

LANGSTON HUGHES

SHALL I make a record of your beauty?
Shall I write words about you?
Shall I make a poem that will live a thousand years and paint you in the poem?

SKETCHES FROM ABROAD

Le Grand Voyage

W. E. B. Du Bois

I HAVE taken many journeys but this is the greatest. I have seen all the states of the American Empire and something of the Western Indies. I have seen England and France many times—all parts of Germany and something of Austria, Switzerland and Italy.

But all this (save Armenia) was white, kindly on the whole—intensely interesting, but painfully white. Today I am drifting toward darkness. I have seen the skin grow sallow and the eyes darken and hair quiver, in southern France, in Spain, in Portugal, in the Canary Isles; and now I set my face toward Africa—the Eternal World of Black Folk.

There is a snow capped peak that sits in the seas. With grey mantilla about its silvered hair Teneriffe frowns on the Canaries and the Canaries smile on the waters, the waters love Africa and Africa frowns on God.

A long way—a long, long way have I come to this gate of the darkest world.

I was in England at the beginning of that singular election campaign which astonished Europe and in the end revealed the bankruptcy of traditional England. It was a cold, wet England with here and there the white sunshine of promise. It was an England on the farewell evening of the Imperial Conference. No black men were there, but brown men sat and spoke and were listened to. England fears India. Only Smuts replied. Smuts, that curious, provincial mind—German in sympathy, suspicious of France and its black armies, liberal toward all white folk but hating "niggers" and fearing East Indians. He is today the greatest leader in the British Empire. In this atmosphere Pan Africa sat and whispered. But some few listened.

I was in France when the first signs came that the hegemony of future mid-European industry, with all its inherent political power, had passed from Germany to France, with England helplessly and jealously watching. The capitalists of the Ruhr, German and French, are agreed. The world will pay. And yet there is one vast beacon of light—France is depending for her hegemony of Europe on Africa. If the rest of Europe wishes to meet her racial bid, they too must make peace—industrial and racial peace—with Africa.

At St. Etienne the most popular man in town—the head of the French and Foreign Club, the chief sportsman, the guest of a hundred hosts, and the welcomed of all business men—is one of us—Hunt, the only American Consul of Negro descent in Europe. The State Department is worried over Hunt. He deserves promotion and they dare not promote him.

Suddenly leaving all this weary world of politics and industry I plunged headlong into fairyland. I am riding down the Rhone. I see the seen and the unseen. The unseen drama of a thousand years and yet nine hundred more. The Allobroges—the Dukes of Burgundy—the Kings of France, shining in the sun and river, the banks rising to mountain heights to westward, the fields and cities, eastward. The colors are pale cream, grey, pale reds, above the blues and greens and browns. The towns are solid, stolid, almost grim, with poplars sternly at attention and vines and tile and wall and tower. Yet there is a kindliness and sweetness in the air—a sense of hearth and home amid factory and swift commerce—the long black steamers, the fruit trees, the pale high hills. The scene stretches into wide plateaus before the dream-far mountains. Then comes a great shoulder of naked rock, a towered town of cream and crimson, sun fields, a mauve and white chateau in trees, the ribbon of river and its poplars; suddenly a gray town with ruined castle on the skies, a river blazing in the sun. From a hill to the right the ghost of the twelfth century stares stonily down upon us. Valence, town of the Gauls, which knew Roman, Visigoth, Lombard and Moor. Upon the right walls that in centuries gone rang with the laughter of the

Lady of Poitiers—naughty, beautiful, dead Diana; fair, false and fortunate,—are ruins eternal above the waters of the Rhone. To the left a quiet town with one arm clasped lovingly about a hill and the other flung above the river rampart. Opposite the dream of cloudy mountains and vines, yonder a town embroidering a hillside, a solemn cypress here and there and a touch of gay color on roof and door proclaim the coming of the azure coast. Out of earth and mountain leaps on before us another town pale gray and cream, petite and beautiful with light. I see a flying buttress, the towers of a Byzantium church dominating the town and then in applause rock and boulder, rough and hard and grim. On the other side in blue and grayish purple a mighty tower and wall and city with what wonder of past hate and love and war! The ruins of a dead chateau guarding a little golden street; a lonely town of clustered grey crouching on the earth as if a part of it—with wealth of rolling tiles.

Then darkness came down, came down quickly at four and enveloped the widening plane—fell on the tower of Avignon and on the bridge where *"tout le monde y danse en ronde"*. On to Arles and Mistral and his song "Have you been to Carcassonne?" But in the soft darkness my soul, free, ranged all Provence and its sweet and unseen beauty.

Avignon was shadow and dying day—the shadow of the Palace of the Shadow of the Popes somewhere down between me and the bridge.

So in the darkness we came down to where Marseilles beneath the moon shone like a jewel in a jewelled sea.

Oh but it rained in Marseilles! The waters spilled themselves across the city and under and over it all my one day and yet could not quench it, could not quite spare its laughter and charm, its satisfied provincial large-town air. The little "Cannebière" was gay and crowded and wet. The bouillabaisse at What's-his-name's (everybody knows him) was expensive and bad, but the great yellow castles that guard the mighty harbor and the little winding sinister streets where folk pass sideways to the seas—they were all there and they are Marseilles.

II.

I HAVE been to Carcassonne. I have seen the city, sitting like a tale that is told above the earth, a great grey dim and towered thing amid a universe of purple, yellow, brown and green—a far-flung violet heaven on earth, a clustering church-quartered town. On the plain march the great figures of France, while yonder the Pyrenees snow-crowned look on. I have seen the sun die on the ramparts of Carcassonne and as it died the Pyrenees lived. They raised a song that swelled from Marseilles to Barcelona and from earth right up to the blue gold of Heaven. But the earth empurpled died and sank and smoked a thousand candles and cried a thousand wordless tales. The air was like rare wine—the earth beautiful for a lover, the sky fleeced and gilded silver and purple.

The sun falls. Smoke threads up from the nests of tiles. Goats cry, a mist, mysterious, sweeps the purply air and on the ramparts I stand and peer.

As night rose the sky was green and black and gold above the black ramparts fading to white and blue, while afar the grim teeth of the Pyrenees grated on Heaven.

I rose in the night to see what the moon could do to all this. It dripped but shadows on the scene.

Then came the drab cold morning of disillusion. After all this grey rock stained with blood and tears was but an old machine of murder, of desperate defense against desperate men. Its ever winding streets were alleys where hid poverty and filth. About the ramparts without filth still lay and within in inn and guide lurked bold extortion. And yet Carcassonne rose above all triumphant in its crumpled beauty, its sheer and pregnant human appeal—its hoarse voice of seven hundred years, with ghosts of three hundred more. In the tournament range, facing the court of Honor, there are telephone wires.

Sun and cloud, Mediterranean and Pyrenees, yellowing vines and sheep. The vines have leaves like flowers and the purple sea mirrors old castellated towers in yellow and red beneath the black forbidding Pyrenees.

The Pyrenees romp with heaven, play with earth cloud and sun until together they make superb lace work.

Black cedars, two towers of castled keeps, gold trees, grey walls, white roads and vines and vines.

Barcelona is a great city thrusting herself outside her swaddling clothes with an effort which rends her body and soul. Great avenues are shouldering aside and threading tiny, winding Old World streets and building new blocks scornful of span with rounded corners and great inner courts. One has a feeling of strident wealth and deep hidden misery, but one cannot tell. A few things I shall remember:—that great cathedral of gloom at Barcelona with the lovely loneliness of its high windows, the fearsome shadow of the grave of its crypt and its singularly beautiful cloisters. The church was a sort of monumental darkness thrown against the gayety of the Rampas.

Then came a serious and savage Spain—bare nests of mountains with yellow towns creeping close to the earth.

Always and everywhere there is going on a subtle change. My brown face attracts no attention. I am darker than my neighbors but they are dark. I become, quite to my own surprise, simply a man. I cease to be specially selected for attention either elaborately pleasant or ostentatiously contemptible. Forgetting myself I study others. I feel relieved.

Madrid is disappointing. It is artificial. Its ancient soul and body have been cut away and there remain the empty Prado, the wide and ghostly park, the ranging avenues and the empty countryside. It is a city set upon a hill, but the edges of the hill are guarded from the curious. And yet I may be wrong. After all I stayed but a day at Madrid and I saw Goya writhing in oil and Goya was more than Madrid.

Lisbon is a lovely city, rising in great swelling of hills, deep creams and crimson above the sea and the calm Tagus. It is a provincial city—a city of one street and the Rocio, but a city that is happy and knows its citizens by name and is sorry for the rest of Europe. I like Lisbon. It was kind and more than hospitable. I went to the Colliseum and sat by the ringside. My neighbor explained matters carefully in polite French. He accepted a cigarette and commended its flavor. At the end he raised his hat and bowed and bade me a very good night. Imagine him in the Hippodrome, New York! He would have shouldered me warily and explained on the other side the ubiquity of "damn niggers"!

Sunset at Funchal in Madeira. The little roar of the little town is softened by the mouth of bells and the curled new moon kisses the electric stars. Above glow the mountains with veils across their misty shoulders—bells, rain and blue sky, green and white homes and the soft laughter of dark eyes—Funchal. With a great circling rainbow day dies. At dawn the fingers of God touch the hills above and they glow with green and gold.

The ship is black and white and red. It sails tomorrow and when my feet again touch earth—the earth will be Africa.

THE INDIANAPOLIS "Y"

THE quiet work of two young men, Dr. H. L. Hummons and Dr. D. H. Brown, culminated October 29, 1900, in the initial meeting of the Young Men's Prayer Band held at the old Ninth Presbyterian Church. This later became the Indianapolis Y. M. C. A. The permanent organization of the Band was effected December 2, 1900.

S. Givens as president; H. M. Terry, vice-president; R. Persons, secretary, and Dr. B. J. Morgan as treasurer were the first officers. They served until May 16, 1901, when Dr. B. J. Morgan became president, H. Terry, vice-president, Dr. D. H. Brown, secretary and H. L. Sanders, treasurer. Dr. Morgan secured the use of the Flanner Guild, a deserted neighborhood house, for a nominal rental and the Band occupied

this building from July 1, 1901, until the organization of the Y. M. C. A. proper in March, 1902.

The first paid secretary, John W. Evans, now a teacher in the St. Louis Public Schools, was called in March, 1902, and remained but a short time when Sanford Yopp was called from Rochester, N. Y. The Prayer Band was admitted as a member of the Indiana State Y. M. C. A. May 21, 1902, and Thomas E. Taylor, a young man from London, Canada, became the third Executive Secretary September 21, 1905. Mr. Taylor had received his training in the Association in London, Ontario, and under his guidance the work expanded. In May, 1910, the local Association became a branch of the City Association under A. H. Godard, General Secretary.

Among the men whose names are connected with the beginnings of the Indianapolis Y. M. C. A. in addition to the officers named were: the Reverends D. D. Minor, William H. Chambers, H. L. Herod, E. L. Gilliam, J. W. Carr, T. Mitchell Pierce, and Doctors S. A. Furniss, J. H. Ward, E. F. Johnson, together with Messrs. William Harvey, John Carter, T. P. Spillman and Willis Kersey. Much encouragement and help came from such white men as Mr. Howser, Secretary of the Central Y. M. C. A., E. E. Stacey, State Secretary of the Y. M. C. A. and Mr Titus of the Railroad Y. M. C. A.

In 1911, accepting the Rosenwald offer of $25,000 for a building in any city where the citizens would raise $75,000, the white and colored people subscribed $86,000. Of the amount Negroes were asked to raise $15,000 but subscribed $21,000. To date they have actually paid in over $10,000. One of the outstanding features of the campaign was the gift of $1,000 by Mme. C. J. Walker and that of $500 by Mrs. McNairdee, the largest donations by any colored women in the country up to that time.

The building was opened and dedicated by the late Dr. Booker T. Washington, July 7, 1913, and the Association's growth in power and influence during the decade has been steady and permanent.

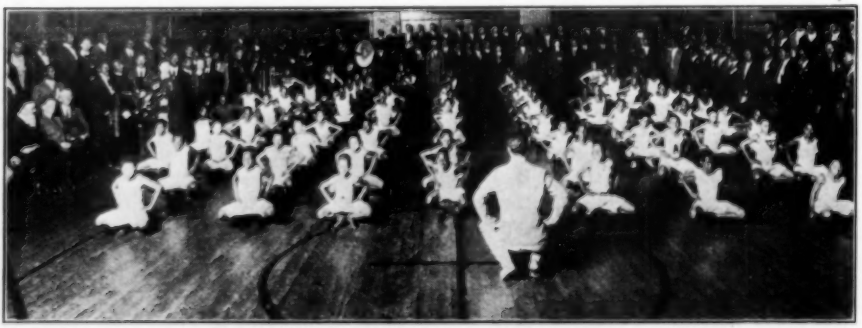
From a handful of 19 men who greeted Thomas E. Taylor in 1905 the Association grew to 1,100 in 1916. Even then Indianapolis had the largest membership of any colored Y. M. C. A. in the world and that record has been maintained until today over 2,700 men and boys swell its roster. During the war the record soared as high as 3,400.

Long ago the saying that the Y. M. C. A. was a "white-collar" organization was shown to be untrue in Indianapolis; and in a recent survey of the membership it was found that eighty-eight per cent of the senior membership was employed in various industrial plants as skilled or unskilled labor.

The Indianapolis Association also has the distinction of having the cheapest membership rate of any of the modernly equipped institutions. This is done on the theory that that Y. M. C. A. best serves the community which serves the largest number of men and boys; and while it involves infinitely more work to enlist the large numbers, the local management has been willing to incur it for the sake of reaching larger numbers.

II

ONE of the objects set forth in the original constitution of the Prayer Band was



IN THE "GYM" OF THE INDIANAPOLIS "Y"

THE STAFF OF THE INDIANAPOLIS "Y"

that "a young men's Gospel meeting should be maintained, seeking to develop Christian character, to win other men for Christ and to arrange for the systematic study of God's Word". This religious ideal has ever been kept as the central core of the work. The Tuesday Night Bible Class, now known as the Hunton Bible Study Class, has been active for twenty years. In 1922, 2,822 men and boys attended Bible Classes and 2,400 attended the regular morning devotions in the building. The Monster Meeting which is serving a religious function brought prominent speakers from all parts of the country and the attendance for the season was 7,352. The Boys Sunday Meetings gathered an additional attendance of 960. In all religious gatherings 14,321 men and boys were reached. 1,277 were given personal interviews regarding their lives and 119 made Christian decisions. Of this number 34 joined local churches as a direct result of the Association.

In this connection should be mentioned the City-wide Older Boys' Conference whose aim was primarily religious. Over 600 older boys were reached during the sessions.

One of the quiet and yet perhaps most significant functions of the Indianapolis "Y" has been the attempt to engender a better racial feeling between the citizenry. Conferences have been arranged between influential white men and leaders of the colored people in order that differences might be frankly faced and discussed. Negro speakers have appeared before white audiences and presented the Negro's side of the case with telling effect. Dr. Howard E. Jensen, head of the Department of Social Science at Butler College, and Dr. Chas. Winders, secretary of the Church Federation, are among those interested in the effort and leading colored men have spoken before the student body of Butler College at Dr. Jensen's request. In this connection Herman Lieber, a prominent business man, has proven himself to be a thorough-going friend of the Negro.

At present five colored men are members of the Inter-Racial Committee but it is hoped that soon this committee can be enlarged both in membership and scope of work.

The Monday Luncheon Club, a weekly gathering of business and professional men corresponding to the Rotary Club, is a useful medium for strengthening contacts with substantial white business men. Concrete beneficial results can be traced to the understandings reached at these noonday luncheons. The club is only two years old but it has been addressed by such men as Dr. Du Bois, Dr. Carter G. Woodson, Mordecai Johnson, Walter F. White, Robert S. Abbott and Prof. A. H. Maloney.

Many examples of inter-racial co-operation could be cited especially during the war period but perhaps the best instance is that of the raising of the "Jimmie Sullivan Fund". In the winter of 1921 a white man,

John Sullivan, lost his life in an attempt to rescue two colored boys who had broken through the ice on Fall Creek. He left a destitute nine-year-old son and a dependent mother. Through the Y. M. C. A. the colored citizens paid in over $1500 as a trust fund for the education of the little white orphan boy, Jimmie Sullivan. This fund is administered by the Children's Aid Society, the central city charity organization.

The work of the Boys' Division duplicates that of the Senior Department and the membership in that division is the third largest in the United States regardless of color. The "open door" policy is maintained and memberships are furnished all boys unable to pay through a fund supplied by generous citizens, white and colored. Last year over 700 boys were given free memberships in this manner.

Three men, Thomas E. Taylor, Major Jos. H. Ward and Amos Bydee, give silver medals each year to the three boys of varying ages who show the best all-round development and render the greatest community service. These medals are each given in memory of the deceased sons of these men —boys who while they lived were ardent "Y" boys. The boys who have received these medals form the Y. M. C. A. Memorial Medal Club.

The Indianapolis "Y" is a worthy specimen of Negro self-support. From a yearly budget of $1600 the work has grown until in 1922 $36,000 was necessary for the maintenance of operations. Of this large amount the management raised all through its own activities except $3,400 which came through the Community Chest. This meant the closest economy on the part of the workers but the effort has been made to make the work as nearly self-supporting as possible. It is a fact that the Indianapolis "Y" receives less percentage of its budget from public subscriptions than any other Y. M. C. A. in a city of like size.

Since 1916 F. E. De Frantz has been in charge and associated with him is a loyal corps of young men who manage the various departments. Among these are L. F. Artis, Assistant Secretary; Albert F. Moton, Boys' Work Secretary; Morris R. Taylor, Physical Director; Milton Jenkins and Hale Woodruff, part-time Office Secretaries; and Miss Cordia Jones, Office Secretary.

The Committee of Management includes some of the most substantial, forward-looking men of the city. F. B. Ransom, chairman of the Committee, is one of the four Negroes in the country who are members of the International Committee of the Y. M. C. A. Dr. E. N. Perkins, H. L. Sanders, Thos. M. Dexter, Dr. William E. Brown, Robert L. Brokenburr, Dr. E. G. Dickerson, Dr. M. D. Batties, Dr. W. W. Stuart and Dr. J. H. Ward are the other members who give so generously of their time and financial support to the carrying on of the institution.

Many men have had a part in the building up of this work and thousands of others have taken advantage of its privileges but the greatest benefit is the part played by the organization in building up a racial consciousness of ability to achieve and administer large enterprises and the consequent strengthening of mutual confidence.

KIRONGOZI*

G. D. PERIER

(TRANSLATED BY JESSIE FAUSET)

KIRONGOZI! KIRONGOZI! This is not, so they write me from the Congo, the sound of a rooster crowing. Nevertheless this harmonious vocable has aroused Stanleyville this April Sunday morning. It has to do with a newspaper whose first number has just arrived—a rare find for the bibliophiles. Just imagine the earliest copy of

* From *"Curiosités Congolaises"*, a group of essays by G. D. Perier on life in the Belgian Congo.

the first Congolese newspaper! Kirongozi, its title, means "captain", "the leader of the caravan". This sheet edited in Kiswahili* would be called, for example, among us *The Informer*. As a matter of fact our little Negro gazette undertakes to acquaint the blacks with the news of the eastern province and of Katanga. It is an excellent innovation which we should like to see followed in other quarters. Certainly a few such publications edited in the principal dialects would go far in spreading education. In that event they would serve to combat the nefarious influence of certain foreign pamphlets which are peddled about clandestinely. If the native should read this sheet every week or every month he would acquire all sorts of useful ideas. How much practical information on hygiene or on agriculture might be spread by this means. Take a look at this copy of *Kirongozi*. It will tell you much more than all my commentaries . . . . . .

I run over the four pages of the little Negro journal. The front page is illustrated with the helmeted head of King Albert accompanied by Queen Elizabeth. The price of the number is some 20 centimes. A brief article below explains the editorial policy. Then a few biographical lines tell about the royal family. A lesson in the Kiswahili tongue acquaints us with some rules of pronunciation. Finally *Kirongozi* reproduces a native folk-tale which is significant both in its content and in its meaning. I will recopy it for those who like this kind of thing.

THE THIEF AND THE SHOE

"ONCE upon a time there was a man who was driving his flock home. On his way he saw a shoe and he said to himself: 'That shoe has no mate. It wouldn't be of any use.' The man walked on for about half an hour and then he saw a second shoe just like the one which he had happened on at first. He said to himself: 'I'll leave my sheep here in order to get the shoe which I left back there on the road'. Upon his arrival the shoe was nowhere to be seen. So he returned to his flock and behold, both his flock and the other shoe had vanished. Then he realized that a thief had taken everything away. So he went on home empty-handed, minus both sheep and shoe."

* An African dialect.

Doubtless neither the charm nor the rythm of the original idiom is left in this translation but there does remain an analogy with our own fables. It is true that one does not immediately think of the dog who left his prey for its shadow. Nevertheless is not the same moral lesson to be deduced from this native story? The outcome of this tale with its naif rapidity of action gives it an unexpected flavor. The reader waits for a moral at the end just as he is accustomed to wait for it in the stories of La Fontaine—La Fontaine who guessed that we would be only half way attentive in a tightly-barred classroom whose sealed windows would prevent us from understanding not only nature and animals but likewise our fellow man at grips with the thousand difficulties of life. So the great moralist helped us to apply the stories by means of which he wished to teach the cleverness and prudence necessary to human existence. The Negro story teller, on the other hand, neglects the lesson and the final admonition. For he speaks to people who are in direct contact with nature,—to hunters and to children who play in the open near plants and animals and who are well aware of the snares and trickeries of the bush. Each of them will easily extract from the story which has been told to him a moral packed with meaning. It will recall to him his own experience. He will discover himself in the human personage whose romantic misadventures so excite his laughter.

This is the real chronicle of the Negro. This part of the newspaper, to my mind, should be better developed. I should like to become acquainted with the thought and the names of some of these modern black poets. All the literature of Central Africa which has come to us up to this time remains, so to speak, anonymous. Whenever at rare intervals in the black decameron we learn the name or the surname of a writer, this human sign intensifies our emotion. When recently a French artist, whose exhibit met with an immense success at Kinshasa, published two verses of the Congolese poet Kou-Singa, an African voice was heard which charmed us all. Its theme resembled the *Carpe Diem* of Horace. Each tribe undoubtedly has its troubadour, its historian. "Kirongozi" will one day tell us his name.

National · Association · for · the · Advancement · of · Colored · People

PHILIP G. PEABODY OFFERS ONE THOUSAND DOLLARS IF N. A. A. C. P. RAISES NINE THOUSAND

R. PHILIP G. PEABODY of Boston has made, as has been announced in the press, an offer to the N. A. A. C. P. that if by March 10th $9,000.00 has been raised in actual cash, he will give an additional $1,000.00, this gift being supplementary to his regular annual contribution of $500.00 which he made in January. The National Office of the N. A. A. C. P. has been striving to meet Mr. Peabody's conditions. Mrs. Amy E. Spingarn, wife of J. E. Spingarn, Treasurer of the N. A. A. C. P., has sent her check for $1,000.00 towards the needed sum of $9,000.00. Mr. Edward W. Lasker of New York, who has been a consistent friend of the N. A. A. C. P., has donated $500.00.

However, the vast bulk of the amount must and should be raised by colored people. Mr. White, the Assistant Secretary, is now in the South raising as much of the money as possible and Mr. Johnson has visited Boston, Chicago, and St. Louis in a similar effort. This issue of THE CRISIS will reach its readers not long before the final date set by Mr. Peabody, March 10th. The National Office urges all who will to forward at once such contributions, large or small, as they can make, indicating that it is towards the meeting of Mr. Peabody's conditions.

PRESIDENT COOLIDGE RECEIVES PARDON PETITION

ON Thursday, February 7th at noon, President Coolidge received at the White House a delegation of representative colored citizens of the United States who presented to him a petition signed by more than 120,000 people of both races, asking for pardon for the fifty-four men of the Twenty-fourth Infantry who have been confined in Leavenworth Prison since 1917 for alleged participation in the Houston Riots of that year.

The delegation consisted of fourteen persons headed by James Weldon Johnson, Secretary of the N. A. A. C. P., who acted as spokesman. The members of the delegation were:

S. S. Booker, of the Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, representing 3,000 college graduates.

Rev. L. K. Williams, of the National Baptist Convention, representing 2,938,579 Baptists.

Nahum D. Brascher, of the Associated Negro Press.

A. Philip Randolph, Editor of *The Messenger* and representing The Friends of Negro Freedom.

Archibald H. Grimké, of Washington, D. C., distinguished American, former U. S. Minister to Santo Domingo and Spingarn Medallist.

Mrs. Gabrielle Pelham, of the National Race Congress.

Mrs. Daisy Lampkin, of the National Association of Colored Women.

J. E. Mitchell, Editor St. Louis *Argus*, representing National Negro Press Association.

Robert S. Abbott, Editor *Chicago Defender*.

Bishop J. S. Caldwell, of Philadelphia, representing the A.M.E.Z. Church.

Channing H. Tobias, New York City, of the Y. M. C. A.

Robert L. Vann, Editor *Pittsburgh Courier*.

Carl Murphy, Editor Baltimore *Afro-American*.

Cyril V. Briggs, Head of Crusader News Service, representing African Blood Brotherhood.

Bishop John Hurst, of the A. M. E. Church who was also invited to serve as a member of the delegation, could not be in Washington to attend the ceremony but he authorized the use of his name and that of his church with its 548,355 members in connection with the delegation, as did also Mr. B. J. Davis, Editor of the *Atlanta In-*

dependent, who was invited as a representative of the Grand United Order of Odd Fellows. There was also attached to the petition a memorial signed by a committee of fifty composed of coöperating organizations and individuals.

The National Equal Rights League, through William Monroe Trotter, its Secretary, was represented by its own delegation of four members which, according to a telegram from Mr. Trotter to the N. A. A. C. P., came to endorse the petition gathered and presented under the auspices of the N. A. A. C. P.

In presenting the petition, Mr. Johnson said:

Mr. President:

We come as a delegation representing the 120,000 signers of a Petition asking you to exercise the power of executive clemency and pardon the former members of the United States Twenty-fourth Infantry now confined in Leavenworth Prison convicted on charges of rioting at Houston, Texas, in August, 1917. And we come as the representatives not only of those who sign this Petition, but we are the spokesmen of the sentiments, the hopes, the sorrows, too, of the more than ten million colored citizens of the United States.

The Petition asks for the pardon of these men on four grounds:

1. The excellent previous record for discipline, service and soldierly conduct of the Twenty-fourth Infantry.
2. The provocation of local animosity against these men because of their race and color, which was manifested in insults, threats and acts of violence against these colored soldiers wearing the uniform of the United States Army and waiting to be sent to France to fight.
3. The heavy punishment meted out to members of the Twenty-fourth Infantry, of whom nineteen were hanged, thirteen of them summarily and without right of appeal to the Secretary of War or to the President, their Commander-in-Chief.
4. The exemplary conduct of the men as prisoners.

The record for bravery and loyalty of colored soldiers in every crisis of the nation is too well known to be called to your attention here, and the long history of the Twenty-fourth Infantry is a part of that record. But we do wish to call your attention to the conditions which immediately preceded the riots of August, 1917, in Houston, Texas.

Contrary to all precedent, the provost guard of this colored regiment had been disarmed in a state and in a city where insult was the daily experience of the colored man wearing the uniform of the United states Army. Following a long series of humiliating and harassing incidents, one soldier was brutally beaten and a well beloved non-commissioned officer of the regiment also brutally beaten and fired upon because they had intervened in the mistreatment of a colored woman by local policemen. The report spread among the regiment that their non-commissioned officer, Corporal Baltimore, had been killed. Whatever acts may have been committed by men of the regiment were not the result of any premeditated design. The men were goaded to sudden and frenzied action. This is borne out by the long record of orderly and soldierly conduct on the part of this regiment throughout its whole history up to that time.

The punishment meted out to the members of this regiment was the most drastic and unusual in the history of the Army. Nineteen of the men were hanged, the first thirteen of them summarily and without right of appeal. This wholesale, unprecedented and almost clandestine execution shocked the entire country and appeared to the colored people to savor of vengeance rather than justice. It bore the aspects of a visitation upon color rather than upon crime. This state of mind was intensified by the significant fact that although white persons were involved in the Houston affair and the regiment to which these colored men belonged was officered entirely by white men, none but colored men have ever been prosecuted or condemned. Fifty-four of the men are still in prison serving life and long term sentences.

It is not within the province of this delegation, nor is this the occasion, to argue these cases. But we wish to call your attention to the fact that the men were tried and convicted under a blanket indictment.

The conduct of these men as prisoners at Leavenworth has been more than exemplary. This much has been openly stated by Warden Biddle of the Penitentiary. And it is in behalf of these remaining men of the regiment who have now served nearly six years in prison that we lay before you this Petition signed by more than 120,000 American citizens, white as well as black, asking that by the exercise of executive clemency you pardon these men and restore them to citizenship.

This Petition of 120,000 names represents the earnest efforts through the past four months of every active element among the colored people of the country. It is the result of the united and consecrated work of civic, fraternal, educational and religious organizations, and of that comparatively new but mighty force, the colored press. All of those elements in the race are represented in this delegation.

We have the honor, Mr. President, respectfully to present this Petition in the name of the signers and in the name of the colored people throughout the United States whose attention will be focused upon the action it may please you to take. We present it in the name of the people whose

hearts have long carried the harsh fate of these men as a heavy burden and with the feeling that, whatever acts they may have committed, they have already been more than punished; and whose hope for their early pardon has been raised by your recent magnanimous action in the cases of war-time offenders.

President Coolidge received the delegation cordially and listened with attention to Mr. Johnson's presentation of the petition. The President assured the delegation that he was well disposed towards the imprisoned members of the 24th Infantry and that he would do what he could in their behalf. President Coolidge stated that he would order an investigation of the case of each man by the War Department and that if he was empowered to do so he would move to have the men released.

Following President Coolidge's statement, Mr. William Monroe Trotter, Secretary of the National Equal Rights League, made an eloquent plea for the imprisoned men and presented resolutions and letters from congressmen and others, urging pardons.

Following the meeting with President Coolidge at the White House, Mr. Johnson called upon Senator Arthur Capper, of Kansas, and Representative Martin Madden, Chairman of the Committee on Appropriations of the House of Representatives, and both these gentlemen promised to speak to the President and to second the petition presented through the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The full committee, in whose behalf the delegation to the White House presented the petition to President Coolidge, is as follows:

E. W. Abner	Supreme Commander, American Woodmen.
Sadie Mossell Alexander	Grand President, Delta Sigma Theta.
J. W. Alstork	National Grand Commander, Ancient York Masons.
C. R. Blake, Jr.	Order of Nobles of the Mystic Shrine.
Eva D. Bowles	Young Women's Christion Association.
Nannie H. Burroughs	President, National Training School for Women and Girls.
C. E. Bush	National Order of Mosaic Templars of America.
W. S. Cannon	Supreme Grand Master, Independent Benevolent Order.
R. R. Church	Lincoln League of America.
James A. Cobb	Special Assistant U. S. Attorney, 1907-1915. Dean Howard University Law School.
George W. Cook	Professor, Howard University.
B. J. Davis	Grand United Order of Odd Fellows.
Dorothy Hendrickson	Secretary, Kappa Gamma Kappa.
John Hurst	Bishop, A. M. E. Church.
Henry Lincoln Johnson	Lincoln League of America.
Robert E. Jones	Bishop, M. E. Church.
Isaac Lane	Bishop, C. M. E. Church.
J. A. G. Lu Valle	Editor, *The Washington Tribune.*
Kelly Miller	Dean Junior College, Howard University.
Fred R. Moore	Editor, *The New York Age.*
Edward H. Morris	Grand United Order of Odd Fellows.
W. H. Miller	Grand Secretary, Scottish Rite Masons.
Ruth Logan Roberts	Alpha Kappa Alpha.
Emmett J. Scott	Secretary-Treasurer, Howard University.
C. R. Taylor	Secretary, Phi Beta Sigma.
Maggie L. Walker	Secretary-Treasurer, Independent Order of St. Luke.
Sadie Warren	Owner, *New York Amsterdam News.*
J. Finley Wilson	Grand Exalted Ruler, Independent Benevolent & Protective Order of Elks of the World.
J. C. Woods	President, National Baptist Convention, Uninc.

While no definite promises have been made, there is considerable feeling that this campaign will meet with success. The New York *Tribune*, staunch Republican organ, headed the account of the presentation of the petition in its issue of February 8, "Early Clemency Forecast for 54 Negro Soldiers," and states:

"The War Department is prepared to report favorably on the conduct of the fifty-four members of the 24th Negro Infantry who are imprisoned at Fort Leavenworth for their part in the Houston, Texas, riot of 1917, it was learned late today . . ."

In the meantime the National Office of the N. A. A. C. P. is doing all things possible to impress further the justice and urgency of early pardon.

THE NEGRO AND NON-RESISTANCE

E. Franklin Frazier

THERE is a growing number of colored people who arrogate to themselves the possession of such Christian humility that they must condemn the activities of the so-called agitators and others who insist that the Negro shall enjoy the same rights as other Americans. They even go so far as to repudiate the use of force on the part of their brethern in defending their firesides, on the ground that it is contrary to the example of non-resistance set by Jesus. They go about saying that Southern white people love us when they lynch us and deny us an opportunity for education and even primitive justice; and that we, on our part, entertain in our bosoms the tenderest sentiments toward our oppressors. As spokesmen of the race, they assert that we are satisfied with an inferior status in American society. All of this is done in the name of Christian humility. We cite here one of many cases of this sort of self-abasement. Some months ago in a Southern city at a gathering of colored people where the mayor spoke, one of the leading business men, in describing our attitude toward the treatment we receive, compared us to the boy in the story who brought sweets to the fellow who continued to blacken his eye; and this same gentleman asserted, without qualification, that the more white people kicked us the more sweets we were going to bring them, and that we loved them just the same.

The motives underlying such a strange attitude are not found upon investigation to be very spiritual. They are admitted to be a method of carrying on war with the enemy. They are strategic and not a choice of moral values and moral weapons. But they are the lowest forms of strategy, involving lying, deceit, fawning and hypocrisy. And while they accuse the agitators of not being "spiritual" and "resisting evil", they themselves are guilty of the worst form of immorality. They say Right is Wrong and confess themselves to be moral cowards. While they pretend to emulate the meekness of the Nazarene, they conveniently forget to follow his example of unrestrained denunciation of the injustice and hypocrisy of His day and His refusal to make any truce with wrong-doers. These peace-makers either overlook or are ignorant of the fact that Jesus and His followers taught that human personality was of greater value than race or any of the other vanities of men. Yet they refuse to protest against the greatest crime of the age—the denial of personality to the Negro. While they pretend outwardly to love their oppressors, they admit inwardly that their purpose is to fool white people.

Their deploring of hatred and praise of love is as superficial as despicable. Hatred may have a positive moral value. A few choice souls may rise to a moral elevation where they can love those who oppress them. But the mass of mankind either become accommodated to an enforced inferior status with sentiments consonant with their situation, or save themselves by hating the oppression and the oppressors. In the latter case, hatred is a positive moral force. So if hatred is necessary to prevent the Negro from becoming accommodated to his present state, how can anyone preach love?

But the question of love is irrelevant. It is foolish to go about asserting in the face of facts to the contrary that white people love us, unless perchance some think that by a sort of suggestion white people will be hypnotized into loving us. The Negro does not want love. He wants justice. Modern political communities are not based upon the principles of love but upon certain principles of justice. It is true that sentiment in the final analysis holds a political group together for any length of time; but it is sentiment towards certain fundamental principles of justice, defining the relationship that shall exist between members of the group. The Negro is asking that those who administer justice shall administer it in accordance with the principles of democratic justice which are embodied in the organic law of the United States. Justice is impersonal. The main difficulty in the South today is that white people have not attained a conception of impersonal justice. In the South a Negro who is the favorite

of an influential white man can kill another Negro with impunity. On the other hand, a white man can kill any Negro without any fear of punishment, except where he kills out of pure blood-thirstiness a "good nigger". The killing of a white man is always the signal for a kind of criminal justice resembling primitive tribal revenge. We hold that if a Negro is treated in any situation different from other citizens because he is a Negro, there is a denial of democratic justice and no amount of love will compensate for it. Colored people who talk glibly of the white man's love forget that a man may love his dog. Love may make a man behave very unjustly towards those he loves. Perhaps, in the distant future, men may love each other so that they will not need to define their rights and duties in society; but in the present stage of social evolution, we prefer to fight for the observance of the established principles of democratic political society. Where love has appeared of such dubious value, as in the South, we take our stand under the banner, *Fiat Justitia, ruat Amor.*

MYSTERIOUS LAND

CLARA G. STILLMAN

MYSTERIOUS land in the midst of my land,
I, your conqueror, come humbly suing for tolerance,
I, your explorer, come eagerly to discover you,
I, your lover, come tenderly to observe you,
I, a buccaneer, am hot after buried treasure.
Oh it is there, I know, and you must not deny me.
I have heard whispers, I have seen glimmerings
Of a golden treasure in a sombre forest.
Let me embrace it and spread it in sunlight.
Let me dig it up and bring it to my people.
Only to borrow it—I shall not rob you.
It is yours but it is the world's too. Let me show it.
"What! That a treasure?" My people laughed.
"Rusty nails in an iron pot.
"Fool to drag to the sunlight what we so wisely had hidden.
"How is it you did not know their gold is not our gold?"
"But," I stammered, "it is the gold of life;
"There is white gold, red gold, bronze gold and yellow,
"All precious, all beautiful . . . . ."
"Fool," they snapped, "there is only white gold."
And they turned from me sneering.
And I stood there filled with gifts;
I stood there laden with treasure;
I stood overflowing with beauty.
Some stared and some laughed.
And some passed by unheeding.
But some scowled and muttered,
"Such fools are dangerous
"And had better be crucified."

THE NEW HUMANITY

WILLIAM S. NELSON

SOME OF THE LEADERS OF THE 9TH QUADRENNIAL CONVENTION OF THE STUDENT VOLUNTEER MOVEMENT

THE times are out of joint, still out of joint, and the voice of optimism is given none too much credence. If it is permitted, it is not heeded; if it is heeded, it is not believed; if it is believed, it is with a belief born rather of hope than of conviction. It remains imperative, nevertheless, that now and again, a world, torn in the maelstroms of conflict and lost in the eddies of wrong, be reminded that the great current of human life flows surely and irresistibly onward; that human progress is inevitable, that the evolutionary processes, arrested and diverted, can never be permanently stayed. Moreover, if the signs of the times point definitely to the dawn of a new day, let it be proclaimed—let no augury of a brighter hour go unannounced.

Thus, we have excuse for declaring our belief that man is in the remaking, that a new humanity is arriving, a humanity whose attitude toward the problems of our epoch is essentially different and incomparably nobler. Were we to characterize this new humanity we should declare, in the first place, that it is one convinced profoundly of the inherent unity of mankind; that it is a humanity free from that ignorance born of tradition, of prejudice and superstition; a humanity with a "passion" for right—a reckless abandon to it; a humanity forgetting self in its devotion to other men. In brief, we see arriving a mankind that is going to make the world safe for idealism, the kind of idealism once despoiled and desecrated in a fruitless war; a humanity, indeed, born of the spirit of "The Son of Man".

To assert as much is obviously to assume no mean burden of proof, for where is there room for such an optimistic view in the light of what is apparent about us? Is not the world still in chaos? Has not the soil of Europe drunk greedily of the blood of its own sons and of ours? Do not political machinations and class struggles threaten

its very life? Are not hate and distrust, jealousies and fears thwarting every effort to understanding and peace? And is not America, in the words of Sherwood Eddy, "still pagan"? He indicts: "One hundred families control the basic industries of the country, while ten million go under-nourished; two per cent control sixty per cent of our wealth, while thirty-seven per cent of the mothers of labor are forced to toil or starve, and two million children, who ought to be in school, are forced into child labor; 100 lynchings annually is America's record since 1885." And we add: "Imperial orders of 'pure' Americanism have had a new birth and are on the rampage, and to millions the preamble to the Constitution is sheer irony and its amendments, mockery." With such facts one could argue indefinitely and convincingly that there does not exist the least sign of this New Humanity.

Yet, I am persuaded that a new mankind approaches. Not that it has arrived in force, for great reforms come slowly and in stages, social revolutions being no more, often less, than the quickening of the evolutionary process. But we do contend that the vanguard of the New Humanity is arriving; its scouts are here; it is being heralded, and we are convinced that an army like its heralds is en route. What now are the reasons for this conviction?

A few weeks ago more than six thousand young men and women, representing some thirty countries of the world and forty-eight states and nine hundred colleges of America, gathered at Indianapolis in the Ninth Quadrennial Session of the Student Volunteer Convention. I think I saw at Indianapolis several thousand of the New Humanity. Not six thousand, but two, three, four thousand, perhaps. They believed in the fundamental unity of the human race. Certainly there were all the usual evidences that they held this conviction. They confessed to have yielded to the irrefutable proofs of biological and inventive sciences; some had seen the unity of mankind in universal tastes, as the common love for music and art; some had been convinced by the trend of practical interests and, finally, religion, teaching the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. But whatever the causes, there were six thousand students of forty races and nationalities, and practically all admitting in word and action, this truth. Men of many races spoke upon the most profound problems of their own group life and were heard sympathetically. An atmosphere of fine cordiality prevailed. Most of the delegates subscribed, in effect, to that declaration of one organization represented there saying, "The spirit of ill will and strife, we would seek to put away from us, and to know instead the spirit of love which unites men, in spite of all differences in a friendly and united society". I was convinced of the sincerity of this profession. But that was not all—I was moved irresistibly, by the *atmosphere*, to a faith in the realness of the New Humanity. There in the mellow light of the great tabernacle six thousand

DELEGATES TO THE 9TH QUADRENNIAL CONVENTION OF THE STUDENT VOLUNTEER M

men and women seemed at moments spiritually merged into one. There they were, under the spell of a great speaker of truth, or lifting their voices together in song, or bowed reverently in prayer, their individual, tribal, racial or national instincts yielding to some overpowering, unifying force. I felt, I sensed, I knew that *there* was a part of the New Humanity.

Again, we saw thousands who were emancipated from that ignorance of our day born of tradition, of prejudice and of superstition. How many millions, because of tradition are ignorant of the cause, the curse, the utter fruitlessness of War? But the vote of the Convention is a different story. In it thousands subscribed to the voiced sentiment that "war is hideous and inhuman", is "a blemish on the face of society, and is to be hated", that it "defeats its own ends, does not protect the helpless but makes more helpless ones, does not end war but sets in motion new potential forces that cause more war", and that effort through education and organization must be made to end it. And, further, hundreds signified their intention never to engage in another war. This was the sentiment of college youth gathered from the corners of America and the world, who yesterday would have been happy to march behind beating drums, extol their own nations and worship their heroes of battle. But today they are emancipated from the ignorance of their fathers, the traditions of a false patriotism, and an unworthy nationalism—they are representatives of the New Humanity which is on the horizon.

There were those, too, and their names were legion, who gave evidence of their emancipation from the ignorance of prejudice. Upon two occasions the six thousand student delegates were divided into some forty-nine groups for the discussion of questions of their own choosing. It is significant that eighty per cent of the discussion in these groups turned upon the race question; and more significant are the decisions reached by these groups upon the issues involved. A complete digest of conclusions is impossible, but we present some as examples. Groups decided unanimously that racial discrimination is wrong; no lines should be drawn except co-operatively; that the social question is personal and not subject to society; that a single standard of morals should obtain; that personality should be respected regardless of race; that equality of opportunity should be afforded in matters of education, economics and politics. Among plans of action agreed upon were: opposing organizations striving for the supremacy of a particular race, improving the tone of journalism, attacking the problem of changing individual attitudes, encouraging the co-operation of the races in college life—in dormitories, societies, fraternities, churches etc., studying the culture of other races, through Cosmopolitan Clubs and similar organizations, and demanding the addition to college curricula of subjects selected to throw light on the race question.

The conclusions reached by the members

MENT WHICH MET AT INDIANAPOLIS, IND., DECEMBER 28TH, 1923, TO JANUARY 1ST, 1924

of the group to which I had been assigned are worthy of note: In its opinion the roots of the problem lay in ignorance, inherited prejudice, lack of moral courage, selfishness and individual, rather than racial, differences.

It ought to be said that prejudice and superstition were not entirely absent and that a voice of the past lifted itself now and again. But we know of no occasion when it was not quickly drowned by a chorus representative of the present. Against the disparaging "facts" of a pseudo-sociologist, I witnessed with deep satisfaction a group of men and women of North and South opposing their sincere convictions, shaming utterly the student and his "statistics".

Moreover, this group of students gave evidence of an utter forgetfulness of self and a devotion to their fellow men. Hundreds were volunteers for work in foreign mission fields, hundreds more for work in the home field. All, practically all, were giving themselves to Christian service. In addition there was no wrangle over the minutiae of religion. Men and women realized that they were confronted with the most vital problems of their time—war, race relations, industrial questions—and in the true spirit of religion, in the spirit of Him Who enjoined to "love thy neighbor as thyself", and Who declared that "greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends", in this spirit they set about to find a solution to their problems. Here was evidence, not only of a conviction of the right but of a passion for it, a reckless abandon to the consequences that the pursuance of right might mean.

A few days in Indianapolis and we were convinced that humanity is in the re-making. We got a glimpse of a humanity that one day will make the world safe for the idealism of the stalwart youth and the prophet, a humanity truly born of the spirit of the "Son of Man". But we realize that this one occasion does not offer conclusive proof that the times are changing; and we present it as only one of a number of similar, though perhaps less important examples that could be adduced. It is possible to cite a great church council which met at Springfield, Massachusetts, a few months ago, and which, forgetting creeds, denounced war, talked industry and demanded emphatically and specifically that the Negro be given justice. Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, of New York, is conducting his "Crusade against War", declaring for the rights of working men, and asking "can we so reach down to the radical truth, as to weave the racial differences together into a web of human brotherhood?" Then, across the sea stands Marc Sangnier, French Député, his face bleeding from wounds made a half hour before by nationalists, begging that an enemy be trusted, and that a new and Christian method of adjustment be tried. Upon invitation of German students a group of French students steal across the German border to try to "understand", while G. A. Studdert-Kennedy, Chaplain to King George, comes to our shores and proclaims up and down the land against such "vile and abominable propaganda" as that which not long ago crucified the idealism of millions of the youth. A statesman who sat around the table when the Versailles Treaty was being made declared that there would have been a great difference in the affairs of the world today if the spirit of The Galilean could have found place in that conference room. And Governor Wm. E. Sweet of Colorado declares that "the leading statesmen and publicists of all nations have united since the world war in declaring that the philosophy of life proclaimed by Jesus Christ is the only solution for the turmoil, jealousy and hatred from which the world suffers".

It is this philosophy of life, whether it be found in a Student Volunteer Convention, a church council, a political meeting, a labor organization, in the breasts of a scattered youth, or in a few statesmen, which is changing the face of the world; which assures us of the approach of the New Humanity.

MY ENEMIES

JAMES WALDO FAWCETT

THEY have wounded me, ah yes;
But in degree they could not guess,
Because I stood the painful while
And looked upon them with a smile!

FRATERNITY AND SORORITY NEWS

I

THE 16th Annual Convention of the Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity was held at the seat of Kappa Chapter, Columbus, Ohio, from December 27th to the 31st. The convention headquarters was the large and newly constructed Y. M. C. A. on Spring Street. The citizens of Columbus as well as the members of Kappa Chapter worked unceasingly to attend to the needs and comfort of the large number of delegates and visiting brothers present.

Founded at Cornell University in 1907, this organization has now 51 undergraduate and graduate chapters and a total membership of about 3,000. Its chapters extend from Harvard in the East to the University of California and as far south as Atlanta University at Atlanta, Georgia. Among the fraternity members are some of the race leaders along educational and scientific lines.

Many social functions were given by the citizens and clubs of Columbus during the meeting of the Fraternity. The fact that the annual convention of the Delta Sigma Theta Sorority was held in Columbus at the same time added materially to the social life of the two meetings.

The chief social event was the annual "Formal" of the Fraternity held in the gymnasium of the Ohio State University on Friday evening, December 28th. The large gymnasium was handsomely decorated with orange and black, the colors of the fraternity, intermingled with the banners of the different colleges represented. About two hundred couples were present and danced until 2 A.M. to the strains from a palm-screened orchestra placed in the centre of the gymnasium.

The most outstanding event of the convention was the pilgrimage on Sunday, December 30, to Dayton, Ohio, to the home of Paul Laurence Dunbar, under the direction of Theta Lambda chapter of Dayton. Two special cars conveyed the delegates and their friends to Dayton. There they were met by autos and taken to the home of Dunbar where appropriate exercises were held. The principal speech here was by Raymond C. Cannon of Minneapolis, general Vice-President of the Middle West.

From the house the delegates were driven to the grave of Dunbar where they held an impressive ceremony under the direction of the general President of the Fraternity, S. S. Booker, of Baltimore, Maryland. After the exercises at the grave the delegates and their friends were driven to Memorial Hall where a dinner was tendered by Theta Lambda Chapter assisted by the citizens of Dayton. About five hundred attended. During the dinner musical selections were rendered by the Harry T. Burleigh Glee Club of Dayton, by Mrs. Florence Cole Talbert, Mrs. Handy of Columbus and Miss Helen Walker of Cincinnati. Selections from Dunbar were rendered during the several exercises by Miss Edna Browne of Dayton.

A public meeting was held on Sunday, December 30, in the Chamber of Commerce Auditorium at Columbus. The principal address was delivered by Robert L. Vann of Omicron Chapter. The soloist was Mrs. W. E. Stokes of Dayton.

Among the several constructive measures passed by the convention was an indorsement of the work of the N. A. A. C. P. and a liberal contribution to the Anti-Lynching Fund.

The convention chose New York City for the convention in 1924 and elected the following officers for the ensuing year: President, Raymond C. Cannon, Minneapolis; First Vice-President, Raymond P. Alexander, Philadelphia; Second Vice-President, James W. McGregor, Los Angeles, California; Third Vice-President, David Langston Brown, Columbus, Ohio; Secretary, Norman L. McGhee, Washington, D. C.; Treasurer, Homer Cooper, Chicago, Illinois; Editor of Sphinx, Oscar C. Brown, Atlanta, Georgia.

The annual banquet on December 31 closed the convention.

The following alumni made addresses during the sessions of the convention: Dr. J. E. Moreland, retired General Secretary

of the Colored Branch of the Y. M. C. A., General Secretary Tobias, Professor William Scarborough of Wilberforce University, Dr. Gregg, President of Wilberforce University, Aaron E. Malone, manufacturer of St. Louis, Missouri, George B. Kelley, one of the founders of the Fraternity and Dr. Middleton, the first general President.

GEORGE B. KELLEY.

II.

THE Sixth Annual Boulé of Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority convened in Baltimore, Md., at Sharp Street Church Community Center, December 27th, 28th and 29th, 1923. Ninety college women representing thirty-three graduate and under-graduate chapters, from California to New York and from Minnesota to Georgia, made this the most remarkable Boulé in the history of A. K. A.

A large audience attended the open meeting at which cordial greetings from the citizens of Baltimore and Epsilon Omega Chapter were extended by Mr. Ashby Hawkins and Mrs. Irma Bruce Davis. Mrs. Loraine Green, Supreme Basileus, gave a fitting response. Miss Julia Brooks then related the Sorority history from its incipiency to the present.

An inspiring message from Miss Lucy Slowe, Dean of Women at Howard University, enjoyable musical numbers by Mr. L. Wilson, Miss Helen Walker and Mrs. Nelson Fortune made the occasion one long to be remembered.

Seven sessions were held; the excellent reports given by chapters and members of the Directorate proved an inspiration and gave food for serious thought. An educational program of A. K. A. during 1923 was effectively carried out, the chapters stimulating interest in higher education by bestowing scholarships on deserving young women totaling over $2,000.00. Also short story and essay week was observed to demonstrate the literary talent of young women over the whole country. The best of these were awarded Fifty Dollar prizes.

A. K. A. women wherever they may be take an active part in civic and community affairs and do volunteer social service work with many organizations. The year's reports show real participation along cultural lines especially in dramatics and music. The Sixth Boulé had an unusual distinction in that five of the charter members of the Sorority were present, Misses Lucy Slowe, Julia Brooks, Nellie Quander, Norma Boyd and Mrs. Ethel Lyles.

For distinguished service and excellent scholarship honorary membership was conferred upon Mrs. Elise Johnson McDougald, Vocational Guidance Director of New York City, Miss Hazel Harrison, noted pianist of Chicago, Ill., and Mrs. Antoinette Garnes, winner of the diamond medal of Chicago Conservatory of Music, Chicago, Ill.

Epsilon Omega Chapter gave to the delegates a cordial welcome and Baltimore joined in showing unlimited hospitality. The Banquet at Royal Palace Hotel, the Prom at New Albert Auditorium, the Prom by Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity and the closing reception were all most enjoyable and sent the sorors back to their chapters praising their hostesses and friends.

A pilgrimage to the seat of A. K. A. Sorority at Howard University, Washington, D. C., was made on Sunday, December 30th, when Alpha Chapter entertained at a reception in their sorority home. Beautiful bouquets of roses were presented the retiring Basileus and her successor by Alpha and Xi Omega Chapters.

The following officers were unanimously elected to serve during the year 1924. Supreme Basileus, Miss L. Pearl Mitchell, 2270 East 95th Street, Cleveland, Ohio, 1st anti-Basileus, Mrs. Vivian Johnson Cooke, Baltimore, Md., 2nd anti-Basileus, Miss Beulah Burke, Kansas City, Kan., Grammateus, Miss Murray B. Atkins, Indianapolis, Ind., Assistant Grammateus, Miss Lucille Armstead, Indianapolis, Ind., Epistoleus, Mrs. Irma Bruce Davis, Baltimore, Md., Tamiochus, Mrs. Ethel Lyles, Philadelphia, Pa., Editor-in-chief, Miss Althea Merchant, St. Louis, Mo., Eastern Organizer, Grace Hill, Baltimore, Md., Central Organizer, Carolyn Payne, Wilberforce, Ohio, Western Organizer, Blanche Patterson, Kansas City, Mo., Northeastern Organizer, C. Vivian Carter, Brooklyn, N. Y.

The Boulé adjourned to meet with Mu Chapter, Philadelphia, Pa., December 27th to 31st, 1924.

L. PEARL MITCHELL.

III

IF only they might have attended the fifth annual of Delta Sigma Theta held in Columbus, Ohio, December 27th to the 29th, friends and foes of the Negro race, doubtful well-wishers and enemies sure of its incapabilities would have agreed that inso-

ALPHA-BETA CHAPTER, DELTA SIGMA THETA SORORITY, NEW YORK

far as its future rests in the hands of its womanhood, that future, forward and upward, is assured.

For this group of young college women is typical of similar groups of colored women whether sororities or otherwise, who are associating themselves together throughout the country discussing ways and means of developing good citizenship.

To one old in the ways of convention conduct, they were noticeable in their unselfishness; politics had no place—only policies with a distinct effort to make them always the right policies. Parliamentary law to them was only a means of accelerating business, not of delaying it, and thus the entire session was a harmonious and delightful inspiration, marked by the earnestness, poise and straightforward purpose of its participants.

Chief among the accomplishments were: The reorganization of the plans of editing *Delta*, the organ of the sorority. It was placed on a sound business basis with sufficient funds to insure its regular appearance. With soror Pauline Young as editor, the bulletin will be published bi-monthly at Tuskegee Institute and in addition to sorority news will contain also items of general interest to women about women.

A scholarship-loan fund for which the chapters have been working was announced available and the following plans as to its use were adopted:

A.—A scholarship of $100.00 is offered annually to any girl of college grade who ranks highest in a competitive test to be decided by a committee.

B.—A loan fund, available to Delta members only, may be used to help any girl in college finding herself in need of help. Such a loan must not exceed $125.00 in any one year to one girl, but may be repeated to the same girl for a second year. The student is expected to begin its repayment eighteen months after graduation. Sufficient funds are already available for several girls.

A contribution of $25.00 was voted to the N. A. A. C. P. and it was voted and urged that all Deltas—locally and nationally—do all in their power to further the work of the N. A. A. C. P., the Urban League and the Y. W. C. A.

It was voted to use every effort to encourage interest in Negro literature, Negro history and Negro art.

The following officers were elected: President, Miss G. Dorothy Pelham, Washington, D. C.; First Vice-President, Mrs. Vivian O. Marsh of Berkeley, California; Second Vice-President, Miss Martha H. Ross of Cincinnati, Ohio; Recording Secretary, Miss Edna B. Johnson of Tuskegee Institute, Alabama; Corresponding Secretary, Miss Alzeda Singleton of Louisville, Kentucky; Treasurer, Mrs. Osceola M. Adams of Chicago, Illinois; Journalist and Editor *The Delta*, Miss Pauline A. Young of the Tuskegee Institute Press Service, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama.

Distinguished sorors present who gave of their art, talent and experience toward the success of this convention included Mme. Florence Cole-Talbert, soprano, Mrs. Alice Dunbar-Nelson, writer and speaker, of Wilmington, Delaware, and Miss Frances Gunner, General Secretary, Brooklyn, N. Y., Branch of the Y. W. C. A.

Among the social features enjoyed at the Convention was the invitation of Theta Lambda Chapter (Dayton, Ohio) of Alpha Phi Alpha to join the Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity Convention in its pilgrimage to the grave of Paul Laurence Dunbar at Dayton.

The convention for next year will be held in New York City, the home of two chapters, Alpha-Beta and Rho.

LILLIAN A. ALEXANDER.
PAULINE YOUNG.

MARY MOTHER OF CHRIST

COUNTÉE P. CULLEN

THAT night I felt His searching hands
Grip deep upon my breast,
I laughed and sang a silly tune
About a golden quest;
That night I kissed His coral lips,—
How could I know the rest?

The Looking Glass

LITERATURE

JOHN JAY CHAPMAN in the *Atlantic Monthly*:

Toil away and set the stone
That shall stand when you are gone.
Ask not that another see
The meaning of your masonry.
Grind the gem and dig the well,
For what? for whom?—I cannot tell.
The stone may mark a boundary line,
The well may flow, the gem may shine
Be it wage enough for you
To shape them well and set them true.
Of the future who can tell?
Work, my friend, and so farewell.

* * *

We have received George Louis Beer's "African Questions at the Paris Peace Conference" (Macmillan Company, New York). Mr. Beer was chief of the colonial division of the American delegation at the conference. Unfortunately he died in 1920 but his associate Mr. Louis H. Gray has brought his work up to date and has written the introduction. The book is full of valuable information and contains many papers, including those on Egypt, Mesopotamia and the colonial settlement.

* * *

Moses Jordan sends us "The Meat Man", the naively tender love story of a colored boy and girl. It is issued by the Judy Publishing House, Chicago.

* * *

Frank L. Schoell's "Negro Question in the United States" (*La Question des Noirs aux Etats-Unis*) Payot, Paris, is a carefully compiled and edited survey of American race conditions by a man of keen insight and just powers of interpretation. Special attention is given to the more important Negro organizations in this country together with a nice and well-weighed appreciation of the Pan-African Congresses. Monsieur Schoell is a product of the French Universities and a former professor at the University of Chicago. His book supplies the information needed by the Frenchman interested in the American problem of the color line. The introduction is written by Maurice Delafosse, once a French Colonial Governor. His commentary therefore is peculiarly significant. Translations of important passages from this book will be published in future issues of the CRISIS.

* * *

PARIS AND "THE EMPEROR JONES"

CONTINENTAL Europe is holding Eugene O'Neill at arm's length. But when, says the *Literary Digest*,

Paris was treated to "Emperor Jones", she found a puzzling ethnological problem that her own experience with black colonials did not help solve. The play was produced at the second state theatre, the Odeon, in a translation by M. Maurice Bourgeois that frankly confessed the difficulties involved in the transference of slang. All varieties of opinion seem to have been evoked. *Paris-Soir* sees in this work something comparable to our skyscrapers: "Only a masterpiece can give—through the screen of an adaptation—such a sensation of lyric power. Decidedly, when there are poets in America, they are on the scale of the buildings and the millionaires. Eugene O'Neill, epic-visionary, takes to pieces with a fable the mechanism of our civilization." Mme. Jane Catulle-Mendes, widow of the famous poet and dramatist, writes in *La Presse:* "Here is a work by a great lyrical and epic poet, possessing also a modern sense of irony, and, without detriment to its dramatic development, an exact and profound psychology." M. Charles Méré in *Excelsior* has some doubts of the propriety of producing the piece at the Odeon despite its "power of an elementary and primitive sort", while the critic of *Petit-Bleu* is a little more haughty. In selecting pieces for the Second Théatre-Français, he opines, "pieces having a real literary or dramatic value should be chosen". Then there is a delicious little gesture: "'Emperor Jones,' I can very well believe, much 'amused' the Americans. In Paris this work seems to us of an art much too . . . summary."

* * *

Habib Benglia, the Algerian actor, played the title rôle. M. Nozier, noted French critic, writes in *L' Avenir:*

"The first act—the scene between *Emperor Jones* and the bad white—has something ironic and fantastic about it that pleases me. The second act is a succession of scenes in the forest which savors of the monotonous. But Monsieur Benglia—who knows the value of color effects—enlivens the scenes with his talent. He breathes authority and incisiveness. He has the grace of an animal in his movements and shows himself to be a person of rare intelligence. He is handsome in appearance, and his gestures, attitude and dancing show admirable harmony and grace. His diction is clear, his enunciation distinct."

* * *

Madelin in *L'Eclair* mentions an interesting distinction in Benglia's and Charles Gilpin's interpretation of the intrepid emperor:

"Monsieur Benglia as *Emperor Jones* was magnificent. All admired him, all praised him. We, however, wish to offer some comment on his conception of his part, as we had previously seen that marvelous American colored actor, Charles Gilpin, impersonate the *Emperor* in New York. From

the outset the latter laid less stress on the intellectual side of his character, portraying him rather as a heavy-witted, uncouth savage. And he was right in this. Yet this did not prevent Monsieur Benglia from making a very good impression."

THE CATHOLICS SPEAK

IN the Catholic paper *Columbia*, published by the Knights of Columbus, Stephen A. Gillis writes on the "Work for Racial Justice". He says in part:

Prejudice is, of course, the greatest obstacle to the work of all those engaged in the Negro mission field. If we stop to analyse our prejudice for the Negro we must admit that it certainly cannot be reconciled with the teachings of Catholicity. In spite of the civil-rights bills that have been placed on the statute books for several Northern states the Negro is still insulted and humiliated by practically all public hotels, restaurants and theatres. It is almost impossible for the colored man or woman to get service in most of our hotels and restaurants. Why? The chief argument of those opposed to treating the Negro as a human being is that to do so will encourage miscegenation. A ridiculous and false presumption from the writer's point of view. Catholics and Jews not only eat together in public places, but they intermingle socially as well. Mixed marriages between persons of these beliefs are very rare. And most assuredly the distinguishing mark of color would be a stronger deterrent to intermarriage between white and black than is that of religion between the Catholic and the Hebrew.

America is the only country in the world that draws the color line. The minute a black American leaves his own country, the land that he fought for and died for, he is treated as a human being. Whereas, we Americans not only stand for this condition, but actually demand ostracism of the colored. We demand that they pay a first-class railway fare for third-class service; that they pay their full proportion of taxes and still be deprived of representation by franchise in spite of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. We demand that the public school moneys in some states be spent in the proportion of two dollars for a colored child and twenty to twenty-five dollars for a white child.

* * *

Existing conditions point to chaos:

The colored woman leaves our Northern university, college or high school filled with hope and ambition. But she has hardly left when she discovers that her white chums of college days no longer recognize her. She learns that the white world does not credit her merit and refuses even to consider it. But worst of all, it gradually dawns upon her that there is an almost universal belief among white men that all colored women are "easy". Then she goes into a mental state of hatred for the entire white race and in this state her children will be born. And we whites calmly take it for granted that those children will gladly shed their blood for us if we ever get into serious trouble!

The loyalty of the colored American cannot be questioned today. But the oppressed have always rebelled sooner or later, and history has always repeated itself. The Negro is not only developing highly intelligent leaders of his own race, he is being organized as well. We are herding his people together like sheep, forcing segregation upon him, and we do not seem to see that this will give him the better opportunity to concentrate the full force of his organized power to justly oppose the worst oppression that has ever been inflicted upon a race. Segregation is a breeder of hate and race riots. This warning is absolutely not a far-fetched statement of conditions. Almost all the literature that the colored person writes teems with the intensity of his feeling against white oppression.

What are we doing? Where will it end? Only the dullest fool would think that such conditions can go on forever, that the colored man can docilely swallow our insults, humiliations and brutalities, and then in time of trouble rally to the assistance of the white man who despises him. In all history there is no record of any such docility among human beings. Caucasians particularly have always fought oppression, and we must not forget that the colored race of America today is in a very large proportion of Caucasian blood. Hardly more than 50 per cent of the total Negro population is full-blooded Negro.

We as a nation, and also as individuals, have everything to gain and nothing to lose by giving the Negro justice.

WHAT ABOUT FRANCE?

W. P. CROZIER writes in the *New Republic* on France and her colonial policy. After commenting on General Mangin who testifies to the "immemorial civilization" of Africa, he adds:

The French General Staff are not really concerned with the evidences of African culture. Their aim is to meet the falling birth-rate and the reduction of the time of military service in France by using natives to comprise one-third of the peace establishment and to bring large additional forces to France as rapidly as possible on the outbreak of war. They have recently taken a most important decision which is the complement of the measures for maintaining a back army. For years Frenchmen have debated several schemes for building a railway from the French North African provinces to the rivers of West Africa. This is a matter of some 2,000 miles. Whatever route was chosen, such a line must run across the vast tract of the Sa-

hara desert. It could have no commercial justification unless minerals were found in large quantities, and of that there is no sign. Yet the War Council and the Supreme Council of National Defence have now sanctioned the construction of a line from the Algerian railways through the centre of the Sahara to the upper waters of the Niger. There it would be linked on to the railway lines in Senegal and the other provinces which are already built or building. It can have no other object than to carry the West African army northwards to the Mediterranean as an alternative to the long and dangerous sea-route which follows the African coast and passes through the narrows at Gibraltar.

All the branch lines in Senegal, Dahomey, the Gold Coast and the Congo will feed this military trunk railway. The position of its proposed terminus in relation to the new mandatory area of Togoland is significant. It lies not far to the north of the Togo boundary. Under the Versailles Treaty the rule is that the mandatory powers can only raise forces in the mandatory areas "for local police purposes and for the defence of the territory". But France obtained from her Allies at Versailles a special privilege, which is that she should be free to use such troops outside their own territories in case of a "general war". The trunk railway to Algiers or Oran from the Upper Niger will have its uses when France is of opinion that she is involved, or about to be involved, in a "general war".

The implications of this Sahara railway are extremely interesting. During the Great War France transported troops from Africa to Europe with ease and security because she was in alliance with England and England kept the seas. In another war, if she were in alliance with England, she would expect to do the same; the railway would not be needed. The railway project, therefore, contemplates a state in which England would be either neutral or hostile. In other words, it assumes that France will be able to transport her black army across the Mediterranean—a stretch of five to six hundred miles. . . . .

The policy of "La France Noire" must be regarded as a whole. There are some critics who say that the danger is exaggerated and that M. Poincaré's talk of a France of a hundred millions is so much "hot air". But that 130,000 African blacks actually fought in France is a hard fact. That 65,000 of them are now stationed in Europe and are to be a permanent part of the European establishment; that the existing army scheme provides for a three years' native service under which between half and three-quarters of a million blacks will be available; that the machinery will be instantly ready for training several million more; that the proposed railway is to be made for no other purpose than to carry these forces to France; and that France, pursuing peace as a barely suppressed form of war, is being inexorably driven to augment her man-power by any means, however deplorable—all these are hard facts and not rhetoric.

A SURVEY OF NEGRO MIGRATION

HOWARD SNYDER depicts in the *North American Review* the reasons underlying the exodus of Southern Negroes to the North:

Certainly there could be no greater misconception than to get the present-day South mixed up with the old South of history as a place of gay, social life. Especially is this true among the white tenants. Tenancy on so vast a scale as it is practiced in the South, based on a single and uncertain crop like cotton, is most surely not conducive to a gay, social life or any other kind of social life. Living under the pall of debt, and moving from place to place with the seasons, as vast numbers of the tenants both black and white do in the cotton belt, the common cropper and the slightly more independent cash renter are considered mere outsiders, and are hardly recognized as a part of the community . . . .

Often his ill-balanced diet in one way or another furthers the development of hookworm, pellagra and tuberculosis. Especially is this true in the more fertile parts of the Cotton Belt on the lower bottoms on the Mississippi. Driving through the country I have sometimes almost doubted that cotton was the chief product, for on every tree, post and bridge I saw in glaring letters a wide variety of chill tonics and liver stimulants advertised. But would all this be so if the people were genuinely interested in their homes and communities and took an active part in the eradication of mosquito-breeding places? Tenancy always brings neglect, and neglect poverty. A tenant who has screen doors I find to be an exception. Mosquitoes feast on him at their pleasure. And when he gets the "chills" he soaks himself with quinine and chill tonics. If he possibly can get it, he drinks saturating doses of whiskey, often of questionable distillation known as "white lightning".

Add to all this the horrible lynchings, the burning at the stake of many Negroes whose names never get to our larger papers, and also consider the fact that the field Negro of the South is a primitive creature desperately afraid of the dreaded Ku Klux, and we have another reason for the vast migration of Negroes from the sunny South. Nowhere on the earth among civilized nations are such atrocious outrages committed against human beings as are committed in the South against the Negro. Almost any day we can read of some benighted Negro peasant being hunted down with hounds, or shot by a posse of men, or burned at the stake amid the multitudinous cheers of a vast concourse of people. That the South could expect these same benighted people to remain with her and uncomplainingly endure all this, when a twenty dollar bill will

carry a man beyond its occurrence, passes my understanding.

Perhaps it is still a current belief among Northern people that the average Negro in the South adores his "ol' mostah", and believes the white man his best friend. As a matter of fact nothing like this exists, for there is an underhanded antagonism between the Negro and the white man, and by no means does the present generation of Negroes believe the white man their best friend. Far from it. By every form of cunning and trickery does the average field Negro try to outdo the white man, and often the white man in his exasperation seeks to bulldoze the Negro and lay sly schemes to get his money. And having become fearful of the dishonest elements in the white South, the Negro mistrusts the whole of the white element, and far more commonly than is supposed nurses a bitter hatred for it.

* * *

Several elements have combined to start this migratory movement:

The World War had its part to play in this general dissatisfaction among the Negroes of the South, for it familiarized them with the ease of travel, and once in the North, working for a fair wage, they continued to spread the tidings of the new industrial life. It should also be remembered that of all people in our great American population none are more emotional than the Negro element. The power of suggestion goes far with them, and they love to follow the crowd. And now that a crowd so vast that it constitutes thirty-five per cent of the black population has got started northward, who knows where it will stop? The race problem is no longer a problem of the South alone. With the Negro press everywhere increasing its circulation, and such far-reaching organizations as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People working through its local organizations in every community to uphold the rights of the Negro and to demand that justice be given him, and to urge that Negro children everywhere attend elementary schools, the race problem is by no means confined to the South. . . .

Still another force exerted on the Southern Negro is the avalanche of letters daily written by those already in the North.

I have been fortunate enough to read a number of these letters. As a rule they are flowery in praise of the new industrial life in the North, with its $2.87 to $10 wages. But these letters often contain more than glowing accounts of the better life, for hundreds of thousands of dollars have accompanied them to pay travelling expenses North for those hopelessly sick of the drab life of want and debt on the plantations.

* * *

More devastating than these agencies has been the lack of educational facilities:

My own observations during the past ten years among Negro children and their parents lead me to believe that the average Negro child is eager to go to school. But of schools for Negroes most rural communities have only terrible makeshifts. Many rural schoolhouses are little better than sheds; there are often fifty or sixty pupils to one teacher; no equipment; and a poorly trained teacher who receives from twenty to twenty-five dollars a month for teaching. The terms often do not exceed three months in length. Not once but scores and hundreds of times have I been told by Negro tenants of the poorest and most lowly families that they were going North to school their children.

"CARRY ME BACK TO OLD VIRGINNY"

ELMA ERHLICH LEVINGER

THAT'S right: keep on singing, *"Carry Me Back to Old Virginny."*
I ain't heard it since Miss Lucy's little girl used to sing it,
In the parlor, when I took mamma's washing 'round the back way:
It's a fine song—for white folks.

"There's where the birds warble sweet in the springtime."
That's when it used to stink most down in nigger town;
We slept six in a room and the drains never worked right;
Lots of scarlet fever on account of them drains,
But folks got to expect it;
My little sister, she died of it in the springtime.

"There's where I labored so hard for old Massa."
And he took his shot gun to me once and run me off the place,
When I argued about the price he give me for my cotton;
My buddy, Jake Stone, who went to France with me, talked too big:
They got Jake one night over by the creek . . . . . .
I ain't goin' to forget in a hurry what they done to him.

"No place on earth do I love more sincerely
Than old Virginny, the place where I was born—"
It's a fine place—for white folks:
But you'd have to carry me to get me back there.

The Horizon

International

SAILORS OF NEW BRITAIN

¶ The friends and admirers of Dr. Du Bois are planning a dinner for him on his return from Africa in the first week in March.

¶ The valedictorian of the graduating class of January, 1924, at the Flushing, Long Island, High School is Miss Alberta Gaines. Miss Gaines led her class of more than one hundred for the entire four years' course. She had an average grade of 88.93 per cent.

¶ Cleota Collins, the well-known singer, has appeared in educational recitals this season at sixteen high schools, colleges and universities in Tennessee, Arkansas, Texas, Florida, North and South Carolina.

¶ The Negro Sanhedrin held an all race conference in Chicago, Illinois, during the week of February eleventh. Professor Kelley Miller, founder of the movement, was chairman of the committee of arrangements.

PUSHKIN, THE RUSSIAN POET
An unusual picture presented to Claude McKay by Yasinsky Yeronimavitch.

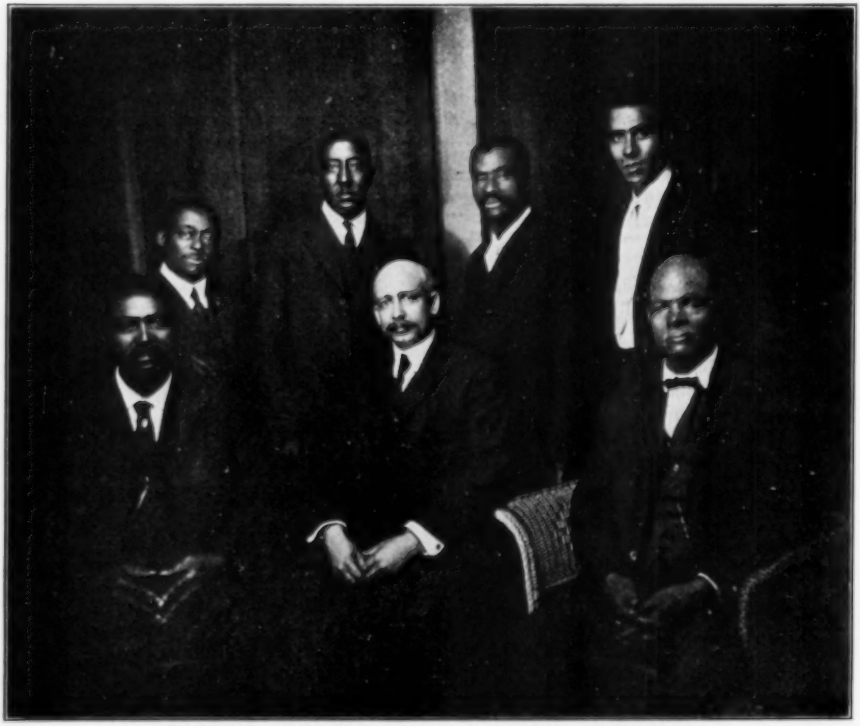
¶ The natives of New Britain, Australia, use cocoanut leaves as sails for their boats.

¶ James Bond, State Y. M. C. A. Secretary for colored work and Director of the Inter-Racial Commission for Kentucky, was born in Anderson County, Kentucky, in the midst of the turmoil between the North and the South. At the age of sixteen

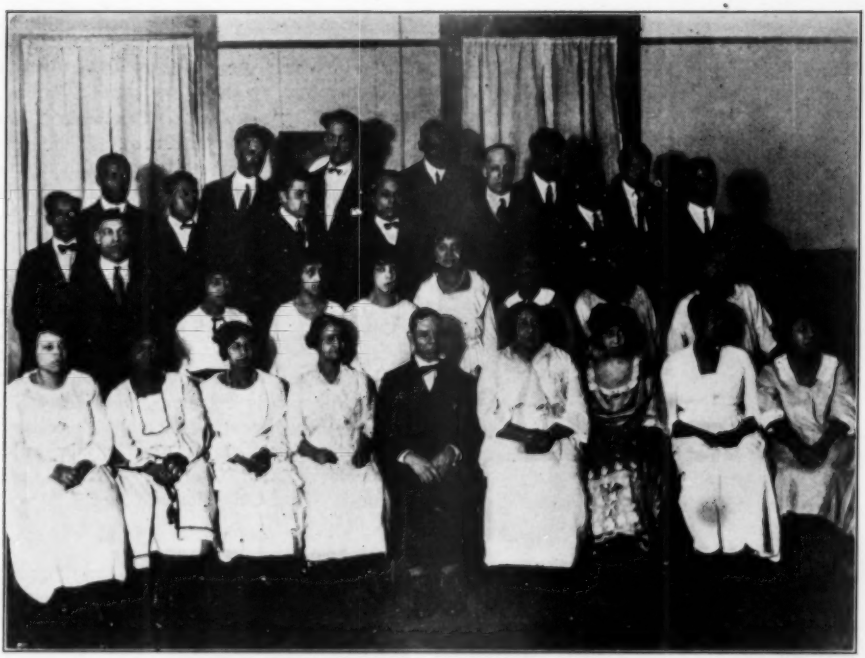
this ambitious lad walked seventy-five miles across the mountains to Berea College carrying all his possessions in a pillow-case. He stayed there for thirteen years working his way from the primary department to a college degree in 1892. Later he studied at Oberlin, whence he holds the degree of Bachelor of Divinity. For sixteen years he was a member of the trustee board of Berea; he has also filled several pastorates in Tennessee, Alabama and Georgia and has been connected with Fisk, Talladega and Lincoln Institute. He was in charge of Y. M. C. A. work among colored soldiers at Camp Taylor, Kentucky, and Nitre, West Virginia. Mr. Bond has three sons, Thomas and Maxwell now in the University of Chicago and Horace, a graduate of Lincoln University and an instructor, at the age of nineteen, in his Alma Mater.

¶ The Purchasing and Building Committee of the National Baptist Convention is composed of A. M. Townsend, E. M. Lawrence, Wm. Haynes, S. P. Harris, E. T. Brown, E. W. D. Isaac and J. D. Grenshaw. This committee has been engaged for some time

JAMES BOND AND FAMILY



BUILDING COMMITTEE NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION



MU-SO CHORAL CLUB OF MINNEAPOLIS

on the construction of a building in Nashville to be used as the home of the Sunday School Publishing Board. The specifications call for a building costing $300,000, 82 x 50 feet, four stories, basement and roof-garden and built of brick, concrete and steel of the Roman-Doric type. Its equipment will be modern and the building will be used also for a printing plant for the Sunday School Publishing Board.

¶ The Mu-So Choral Club of Minneapolis, Minnesota, was organized in the fall of 1917 by a group of people interested in musical development. Its members are largely drawn from four important church choirs and include the best musical talent in the city. The membership is limited to 40. It has given weekly noonday concerts and has broadcasted programs from WLAG Call of the North Station which is located in Oak Grove Hotel.

¶ Atlanta's "Big Bethel" A. M. E. Church is presided over by the Reverend Richard Henry Singleton, a native of South Carolina. Ever since 1893 Dr. Singleton has been building and renovating churches. His early pastorates were in Brunswick, Waycross and Savannah, Ga. In 1904 he became presiding elder of the Valdosta District; in 1908 he was transferred to the West Savannah District and in 1916 he came to Bethel Church in Atlanta. Dr. Singleton has been as successful a citizen as minister—he founded Central Park Normal and Industrial Institute in Savannah, Ga.; he is trustee and auditor of books for Morris Brown University, president of the local N. A. A. C. P., director of many business organizations, and member of a number of fraternal organizations. In 1919 he was elected

The Rev. R. H. Singleton The Rev. B. F. Watson

to represent both race and church at Versailles, and in 1921 he was sent by Governor Dorsey to represent Georgia at the Race Conference in Los Angeles. He is 58 years old.

HERMAN McCLAIN

¶ A veritable pillar of the A. M. E. Church has been lost in the death of the Reverend Benjamin Franklin Watson. His life was exciting and eventful. He was born in 1848, a slave, but he escaped to Illinois as a boy of fourteen and two years later enlisted in the U. S. Army. After his discharge he devoted himself to study and by 1870 he was teaching and preaching. For twenty-seven years he served in every capacity of the itinerant minister starting as Commissioner of Education of the A. M. E. Church. In 1900 he was made Secretary-Treasurer of the Church Extension Department and this position he held until his death.

¶ Herman McClain, nine years old, of Parkersburg, W. Va., is the winner of one of the four Samuel Prager prizes for boys. The prizes are given to the four pupils between the ages of 9 and 15 possessing the highest records, provided the final average is 90 per cent or above.

¶ Mary Cesar of Sharon, Connecticut, has won the prize among the school children of that town for the best song with a true school spirit. The second stanza of her song reads:

Though time her timbers may decay,
And classes rise and fade away,
From some high pinnacle of fame
We'll praise the school from which we came.

¶ Little Farina, the movie partner of Sunshine Sammy, is extremely versatile. She is here seen appearing in mannish costume following the example of her memorable predecessor Aida Overton. Farina's real name is Allan Clay Hoskins.

Keystone

"LITTLE FARINA"

JUNIOR CHOIR, FORT HUACHUCA, ARIZONA

¶ The junior choir of Fort Huachuca, Arizona, is composed of the sons and daughters of enlisted men of the Post. These young folks frequently aid Chaplain Caver, 10th Cavalry, in his work by assisting the senior choir. This is the only organization of its kind in colored units of the regular army. It was organized by Mrs. M. E. Bell and Miss Thelma F. Jordan.

¶ A survey of the life of Cornelius A. Hughes finds him leaving his home, Pan Tops, Va., at an early age in order to see something of Europe. On his return he settled in California but, drifting into politics, came to New York in 1904 under the direction of the Democratic National Committee and there he has remained ever since. He succeeded Edward E. Lee as Chief of the Colored Democracy, then became Deputy State Superintendent of Elections under General Dix, then Special Agent of State Excise and is now the only colored representative in the Board of Elections of Greater New York. He has the distinction of having been the first colored member of the County General Committee of Tammany Hall as well as its first colored district captain. As a side issue Mr. Hughes ably edits the *Fraternal Review*.

CORNELIUS A. HUGHES

¶ Governor Alfred E. Smith of New York has commissioned the Rev. Alexander C. Garner, pastor of Grace Congregational Church of Harlem, as Chaplain of the 369th Infantry, N. Y. N. G., with the rank of Captain.

¶ The board of Regents of the state of New York has granted to graduates of Atlanta Uni-

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HAPPY COMRADES

versity with the degree of Bachelor of Arts the college grade limited certificate which entitles them to teach in the public schools of New York.

¶ The Nassau and Suffolk County Y. M. C. A. with headquarters at Mineola, L. I., has on its staff a colored secretary, Mr. A. G. Fallings. When the outing of the Paumonak Boys' Camp was being planned last summer, Mr. Fallings suggested that the colored boys of the counties be admitted. There was some opposition to this but fortunately Mr. E. A. Nicholas, Camp Director, thought differently and agreed with Mr. Fallings that the six colored boys who applied should be taken in. The result was a happy comradeship among the boys of the two races in swimming, woodcraft, nature study and story telling. Some of the colored boys were chosen for leading positions in the camp's games and interests.

¶ The Rev. Theophilus Gould Stewart is dead at Wilberforce, Ohio, at the age of 81. He was at one time a chaplain in the United States army with the rank of Captain. He was a member of the faculty of Wilberforce University and a well known author.

¶ On January 27 Lambda Chapter of Alpha Kappa Alpha sorority celebrated Founder's Day at the Harlem Branch of the New York Y. W. C. A. The principal speaker was Dr. Sara Brown of the National Y. W. C. A.

¶ Mrs. Bessye J. Bearden of New York City has been appointed a member of the School Board of the 15th School District, Borough of Manhattan. She is President of the Colored Women's Democratic League of Tammany Hall, United Colored Democracy.

¶ Newark, N. J., is the seat of a new venture in insurance by colored men. The new organization is called the New Jersey Insurance Company. It has leased offices in the Home Benefit Association Building at 277 Bank Street and is capitalized at $150,000. Dr. Walter G. Alexander of Orange, former State Assemblyman, is president of the new company.